LETTER

TO THE

WHIGS,

Expostulating with Them upon Their

Present Conduct:

WHEREIN,

The GROUNDS and REASONS of the Present Allarm about the PRETENDER are Enquir'd into, Examin'd, and Impartially Stated.

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LETTER

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WHIGS, &c.

EFORE I enter upon the Matter Intended, I must, to avoid Cavils, determine who it is I speak to, that Men may not shift it from one to another, or from one Party to another, and say, he does not speak to me, or he does not speak to us, and the like.

This Letter is directed to, and defign'd for the Admonition of those we call Hot Whigs, and those only; Those Whigs, who being violently Embark'd in the present Party Heats, between New and Old Ministry, carry on the Breach to that Irreconcilable Dreadful Height which we now see it is brought to: Of these, I doubt, this is too true a A 2 Cha-

Character, That Reproaching the prefent Persons entrusted with the Administration, with innumerable Errors of Conduct, they seem rather to oppose what is doing, because of the Instruments Acting it, than because of the Illegality of the Actions; and rather to desire the Ruin of the Ministers of State, than their Reformation; the Motto of these Mens Banner, against the Ministry, appealing to their own Consciences, and taken from their own Mouths, is this, TO U HANG'D, OR WE UNDONE.

It is a Mournful Reflection to make in a Christian Nation, that such a Temper should be found among us, and this gives me Hope, that something may be offer'd to you Gentlemen, before you plunge your felves into an Inextricable Labyrinth; to prevail with you feriously to confider, what it is you are doing, and to what Issue such Actions as these must come: If a calm difinterested Expostulation may have any Effect, you will, hereafter, Bless the Agent of so needful a Pacification; if not, you shall not run Headlong into your Destruction, and the Ruin of your Country, without a Friendly Admonition; nor shall you be able to fay, you have not been warn'd of the Confequences, It

It is true, things are come to a terrible extremity among us; the Feud of Parties is grown up to fuch a height, as feems too great for any Mediation; the Rage is so high, a Parly cannot be expected; nothing seems to be before us, but Drawing the Sword, and Throwing away the Scabbard; and we expect all the Confequences of Parties, enflam'd by their own Passions to such a Degree that Water will not quench it; and People seem to Thirst after something, which ought not to be Nam'd among Christians.

This, it must be confess'd, is a Dangerous Conjuncture, to attempt the Office of a Moderator in, and he that shall offer to throw Water upon these Flames, runs a greater Hazard, than he that Embarks in the Quarrel with you can do; tho' I must own, I look upon that also, to be tenfold more Risque, than his that

Embarks against you,

Some Learned Men endeavouring to give a rational Account of the strange Eruptions of Fire in the Mountains of Atna, Vefuvius, Heckela, and other Volcano's, which have been so Terrible and Dreadful as no Tongue can express, have found this to be the best way to solve the Difficulty of it, (viz.) That there

there being a prodigious quantity of Sulphurous Matter in the Body of the Earth, which, by natural Agitations, have been many Ages ago fet on Fire. fpreading to an extraordinary Extent of Ground, by its force confuming the Earth, and that Earth again falling in as the parts supporting it are Consum'd. meets at length with some Subterraneous Waters, whose Current the Earth that prescrib'd it like Banks, being fallen away, turns, and at once pours it self into the horrible Gulph of Fire; where the Rarification being sudden and unfpeakably violent, vents it felf through the Cavities and Passages of the Mountains into the Air, casting up Streams of Liquid Fire, vast Stones, Clouds of Ashes and Smoak, to the Terrour of the World, as may be describ'd by throwing Water hastily into the Mouth of a Furnace, when the Fire being Fierce it shall burst out in your Face, Ashes, Smoak, and Coals coming out together, with Ten times more violence than the Water went in with.

You will pardon the Digression of this Allusion, because I profess to expect from the violence of the enslam'd Spirits who I am speaking to, some Eruption of their

their Passions, while I endeavour to

pour Water into this Fire.

But who knows the Power of calm Reasoning and patient cool Expostulation ? What tho' you are not in speaking Terms with the Ministry, and tho' the more Water they pour in upon your Temper, the more violent Eruptions of your Passions are to be expected, so that nothing is to be hoped for from you on that Side, but Battle and no Quarter, yet who knows but you may allay and temper your selves a few Moments, at the fincere Motion of those, who would fain reconcile you to your felves, and that you may be mov'd to listen to a Word of periwasion from a Friend?

I esteem those People among your most dangerous Enemies, who either prompt you to think your Power greater than it is, or who, if your Power were as Superior as they suppose it, and would have you believe it to be, prompt you to Exercise it in that Cruel and Merciless manner upon your Country-men and Fellow Christians, as their Discourse is every Day full of. This, I think, is Impolitick to your selves, BECAUSE there being no fuch visible Appearance of your Success, as they Flatter you to believe;

believe; you thereby feem to Chalk out what you ought to expect in the Treatment you are to receive from your Adversaries, by the Treatment you threaten them with, in Case they come into your Power. If Haman had feen the least room to suspect the miscarriage of his Bloody Defign against the Jews, he would never have made fuch a Declaration of his resolved Execution against Mordecai, as setting up a Gibbet Fifty Cubits high; it being the most Natural thing in the World to him, to have expected the Fate he met with; as being pointed out by his own Finger, and he feem'd to Summon the Justice of his Adversaries, to fuch a Retaliation, by his own Prescription.

While then, any Men among you declare for Blood, and for shewing no Mercy, tho', even at the same time, if I may judge Impartially for you, there appears no rational view of obtaining those Ends; Do they not Legitimate the utmost Severity which your Enemies can return upon you, as a just Retaliation

of your own Measures?

This Introductory Caution, I do but mention now, designing to speak more largely largely to it hereafter, while from a fincere defire to moderate your Passions, and prevent your Inevitable Suppression, I defire to Expostulate of a few things in your present Conduct, that, if possible, you may be brought to see your Mistakes, and avoid the Consequences which must

be to your Difadvantage.

In order to Argue closely with you, as best suits the Nature of an Expostulation, I must first lay down some things, which Wise and Impartial Men blame you for, and which I shall give the common Evidences of, by which, they prove that Blame to be just; not that I am bringing any Charge against you, I Accuse you not, there is one that Accuses or Excuses you, even Conscience, to whom you ought to appeal.

I shall Argue on the Supposition of their being True; and shall then Expostulate with you freely, upon the Grand Questions, which you ought sincerely to ask your selves, (viz) What are we doing? To what Extremities are we running? What will be the Consequences to us, to our Country, to our Posterity, to our Religion and to our Liberties, if we go

on?

The Things which, as above, Thinkeing and Confidering Men blame you for, are such as these:

vances, are manag'd in an Unjustifiable and Unchristian manner.

2. That the Heats upon these Complaints, are carried on to an Unjustifi-

able Extreme.

3. And to these, I must add a Third, (viz.) That if the first are True, then you put your Selves, your Country, and your Posterity, in an Imprudent and Unjustifiable Hazard, by these Measures.

The Explanation and Evidence of Fact, in all these Cases, shall run thro' the whole Course of these Sheets, rather than be spoken of apart; because, tho' I desire to speak Convincingly and Clearly in them all, yet the Nature of them all so evidently lying in every one and the same Action, it will be necessary to repeat them so often, that while any part is lest to speak of, no part can be dismiss'd.

The Foundations of our present Heats, they say, are reduc'd to Two short Heads, (viz.) 1. The Queen's dismissing the

the Late Ministry, and (2.) Administring Her Assairs by the Present. The Power the Queen has to change her Servants, they alleage, admits no Dispute, that it has been spoken of largely, and no real justistable Grievance can be sounded on that

part.

Neither was it a Sin, say they, against the Constitution in the present Ministry. to come in, or accept of the Honour done them by the Queen, (viz.) of Entruffing them with the Administration: nay, litterally speaking, and speaking the Court Language, it is very justifiable in them to endeavour by a Legal Admission, to be put into the Ministry; if not, the People who feek it now, Incur the fame Charge with much greater disadvantage; because those endeavour'd to perswade her Majesty to the Change she did make, and these endeavour to Force her to the Change they would have her make, by plunging her Affairs in fuch a manner, as to make it absolutely necessary for her to do so.

The first part of this Charge, is, That of the Scandalous Treatment of Superiours. How the Parties have Acted ever since the beginning of this Change, has been the Subject of so many Debates,

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fuch Hot and Reproachful Pamphlets and Libels on both Sides, that with Grief I mention it, have been the Shame of the British Nation; so little Temper, so little Modesty, such Personal Reslections, such Slander, such Passions, as I believe, I may say, has never been seen Acted among Christians, or among Gentlemen, since the Name of Christian or Gentleman, has been known in the World.

It is most True, That both Sides have been exceeding Guilty in this part, and the Scandal, the Dirt, the Reproach cast upon Men of Honour by Name, has been most unsufferable on both Sides; I justify neither, but is it not surprizing to see the Whigs, whose pretences to Moderation and Christianity have run high, who in former Times, were wont to carry a good Cause by just Measures, and who in their Prints, complain fo loudly of the Examiner, for his Treatment of the Duke of M___gh, fall in the foulest manner possible, into the fame Error. I am not justifying the Examiner in his Treatment of the Duke of M-gh, nor any other Fomenters of Scandal on that Side, I equally abhor the Method: But let me speak to you.

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you, who I call Honest Men, in the Language of honest Men, look into your own fecret Party Conversation, as well as public Coffee-house Discourse and Printed Pamphlets, and let me appeal to your own Consciences; Is not this part of the Charge too home upon you? Has any thing, that ever the opposite Party either Said or Printed, upon the whole Body of the Late Ministry, come up to the Language you give the Present Ministry in your common Discourse? Have any of the Libels and Pamphlets, Printed either by the Examiner, or even Abel himself, come up to the Ambassadresses Speech, Neck or Nothing, and the multitude of Insolencies in the Flying-Post upon the present Ministry; and nor only fo, but even the Person and Actions of the Queen herself.

What is the Reason that your Friends have left you, and indeed are frighted from you? Why so many who were Whigs in Principle, and that from their beginning, and remain Orthodox both in their Judgment and Practice to this Hour, as to the Love of Liberty, the Preservation of the Constitution, their Adherence to the Protestant Succession, and to every Article on which our Natural Sasety depends,

are yet parted from you, amaz'd at your Conduct, and can neither in Honour or Conscience, join with you? Is it not because they see Railing and Cursing bitterly, which they are affur'd is not a Christian Spirit, is your daily Practice? Is it not because they see you Breathing Partial Judgments, and Positive Vengeance, things expresly forbidden to Man by the Laws of God; and that you point this Rage, not as Justice, but as your Party and Passions direct? Is it not because they see that you cover a Secret Personal Design against the prefent Ministers of State, by the Pretence only of Publick Safety, when nothing appears to be Acted against the Publick Safety, or fo much as design'd against it; and that in all your Conduct, you make the Charge against the Ministry, to be rather Suppositious, than direct, the Fears of Popery, Tyranny, and the Pretender; Matter of Clamour, rather than of Substance; and the Grievances of the Nation feem to be form'd in Imagination, not in the Evidence of Fact.

I would direct my Discourse to you, I supposing, as before, that these things are so) as Christians, and as Subjects: As the first, the Rule you ought to govern your selves

selves by, is direct, Thou shalt not revile the Gods, nor curse the Ruler of thy People. Exodus 22. 28. Curse not the King. no not in thy Bed-chamber, &c. Eccl. 10. 20. What share of Scandalous Reproaches has the Person of her Majesty, even in the Common Places of some Men? I could repeat fuch Language, as even our first Christians refus'd to give to the Heathen Persecuting Emperors. With what Contempt is her Majesty treated in their Discourfes? What should I name the Amsterdam. Toung-Man's, North's, and other Coffeehouse Clubs, where the Queen is the Subject of their utmost Scorn: and her Majesty, who at Church, they can hardly avoid making Prayers for as their Lawful Sovereign; has their Curses, and Indecent Banters, all the Week after, as not fit to be trusted with the Government of the Nation.

What Language do they treat her Majesty's Servants with, who do their Work, and Serve them against their Will, common Experience, and their own Hearts will testify; nor will they say they have spar'd them, or spar'd to espouse those Libellers, who have in the most Infamous Manner revil'd them; and are these the Men who complain of the Examiner and

and, others for mal treating the Duke of M-gh? It had been a Good Argument indeed, could it not have been said, as Nathan to David, Thou art the Man: for no Man will plead for Personal Scurrillity against any, much less against Ministers of State, Honour'd by the Sovereign with the Greatest Employments, Trusted with the Administration of Government, Dignified with Titles and Marks of Honour and Diflinction: But it comes unhappily out of your Mouths, if in the same Breath that you Complain of it on one fide. you Practice it in the Coursest and Vilest manner imaginable on the other; not against the Ministers of State only, but even against the Queen herself.

Let no Man call this a Charge upon you, unless he can first say it is not true in Fact; and if we should be Summon'd upon such a Denial, to enter upon the Proof, I fear there would not sail a cloud of Witnesses, Viva-Voce, and Testimonies, from the Printed Oracles of the People who I speak of; but I chuse to appeal to Conscience, as suiting best the Nature of an Expostulation, and therein I am sure I have a Living Witness in your own Breasts, who will not suffer you to give me

me the Trouble of calling in further Evidence; This, indeed, is managing the Complaints of Grievances, in an unjustifiable and unchristian Manner, which is the first Head laid down by those who complain of the Conduct of the Whigs at this Time; and I fear the Charge lies

too close upon you to be denied.

Hitherto I have been speaking to you as Christians, it were to be wish'd you would alwaysact like fuch: Let me turn this Admonition to you now, as Subjects, and first, as Members of the Church of England, such many of you are; The Church of England is famous thro' the World, for her fleddy Adherence to the Monarchy, Zeal for Legal Establishment, and Loyalty to the Persons of her Princes, and has many times suffered deeply in this Cause; Is it not aftonishing to see you constantly attending her Worship, cleaving to her Communion, and owning her Doctrine, and yet thus Abandoning her in your Practice? With what Hearts can you call her Mother, and your selves Obedient Children, and yet act in a manner to directly contrary to her Doctrine and Canon, which teaches Subjection and Obedience to the Laws, and What Scandal does this bring upon the Church you profess to adhere to? But shall I chuse to speak to you as Subjects of the British Monarchy? What shall we fay for you? And what Excuse can be found in your Behalf? Suppose as you do, that Obedience is prescrib'd by Rules, and a reciprocal Obligation takes place between Prince and People: Nay, carry it to what length you please, or to the greatest length it was ever carried, by those who were for any Constitution at all of King and People; none ever pretended to deny, but that the Obedience and Subjection of Subjects, was their unquestion'd Duty, while their Kings Govern'd Righteoully, and maintain'd their Laws and Liberties; but all the things which you are Complain'd of for, are done, while you have not the least pretence to make upon your Governours, either of the Laws being broken, or Rights Invaded.

Nor can the Dispute about Passive Obedience, or whether Passive or no, be concern'd in this Quarrel, here is no Argument about Resistance or Non-resistance before you. That Seditious Sermon, which scandaliz'd a Pulpit lately, by asserting the Lawfulness of taking up Arms against a

Tyrant

Tyrant; cannot be faid to have any Relation to your Case; for your Resistance is against your Sovereign and her Administration, while no Tyranny appears, and while no Breach of Laws is pretended: Some have disputed indeed, Whether it be Lawful to Refift even in case of the Prince's Invading the Conflictation? but that is quite out of the Question here; for none ever Suggested it Lawful to Resist, where no Laws were broken, or for Private and Personal Oppression, much less without it, and where there is no Tyranny, no Oppression or Arbitrary Power put in practice, either Personal or National; as is your Case: And therefore quoting the Sermon above, I call it SEDITIOUS. because pretending to prove the Lawfulness of Resisting Tyrants, he brings the Example of David taking Arms against Saul: Now Saul, however, he might have Personally pursued or injur'd David, was yet no Tyrant to his People, nor was he ever charg'd in Scripture with being fo nay, he was no bad Governor, but on the contrary, was a Good King, tho' a Bad Man; nay, and he is by David himfelf acknowledged to be fo, and his glorious Acts and Beneficence to his People are celebrated by David himself after the disaster

and all possible Duty to the Sovereign? disafter of his Death : 2 Sam. 1. 24. Te daughters of Israel weep over Saul, who cloathed you in scarlet with other delights, who put on ornaments of gold upon your apparel. V. 23. Saul and Jonathan were lovely and pleasant in their Lives, &c. Would the Scripture have faid this of a Tyrant? Saul being then no Tyrant, and the example of David being brought in this question of Resistance, who took up Arms against him in his own private Quarrel; What is this but to Authorize the Duke of M—, or any private Person or Party, to take up Armsagainst any King or Queen, tho' they are not Tyrants, when-ever any private Person pleases to think himself Injur'd or Oppress'd, and therefore I must be allow'd to call it a seditious Sermon.

Nor is this an Injurious Suggestion, if it be considered how this Discourse was Calculated, at a time when other Prints are full of Threatning Speeches, in the very Teeth of the Government, when the Cabals of Officers, who yet remain in half Pay, tho ill deserving that Bounty, have openly Insulted and Threaten'd the

the Administration, when we have been told in the Englishman, and other Papers, That your Forces are broken, yet you have a great Leader to call over; and another Book lately quoted by the Examiner, is Frontispiec'd with this Allarming Verse

Nil Desperandum, Teucro Duce, & Auspice Teucro.

This is down-right menacing the Government, and founding to Arms, and may reasonably be allow'd, (they say) as a sufficient Proof of the second Article, (viz.) That the Heats upon these Complaints, are carried, by the Whigs, to an

Unjustifiable Extreme.

It is true, it may be reflected here, that the Preacher of this Sermon is a Dissenter; I answer, as it has been thought a great Injury to the Whigs, to endeavour to divide the Dissenters from them, so, on the other hand, it is to be said, to the Honour of the Dissenters, that not a Man in a Hundred of them, approve that Flame-kindling Discourse, but Universally Condemn it, and blame the Preacher of it, as a Rash Unconsidering Young Man, who, to gratify a Party.

Party, has done a manifest Injury to his Friends the Diffenters, exposing them to the just Reflection, which approving his Discourse, would bring upon them; but the Whigs, nay, abstractedly speaking, the Church of England Whigs, have been the Men, who have chiefly Embrac'd, Own'd, Cares'd, and Courted, both the Sermon (and the Preacher of it) and have dispers'd them over the whole Nation; while the Diffenters themselves, whose Eyes, indeed, began to be open'd, and who began to fee they have been impos'd upon, have, as above, generally shewn their dislike of it, and, as I have been inform'd, have reprov'd him for it.

Before I go on, to put you in mind of what remains, let me calmly Debate the Justice, the Prudence, and the Christianity of this Conduct, while at the same time, Two Things are in your

Cafe.

1. That no Essay has yet been made, notwithstanding frequent Challenges has been given to you to that purpose, to produce any act of Tyranny or Oppression, any Laws Transgress'd; Liberties Invaded; Constitution Broken; or Treasure misapplied, either by the Queen, or any of her Ministers of State.

2. That

2. That really all these Menaces, are not the Effect of your own Power, or any Prospect you have, that you are in the least able to make that Resistance you speak of, but a meer Presumption upon the Lenity and Looseness of the Administration; and a Supposition, that they will not think it worth while to Resent these things; which presumption you are, I confess, too much encouraged in, for want of needful Examples being made where Justice required, and the Law has provided; but of that hereafter.

The first of these, makes a full Proof of what I told you; they have Alledg'd as to the Behaviour of the Whigs, and its being Unjustifiable and Unchristian; for where is the pretence for it? The Impartial part of Mankind infift upon this Demand, and that it is just that you should agree to it, (viz.) Let all you can fay be brought to the Test of the Law, and let the Ministry be fairly Accus'd, or fairly Vindicated; indeed, this is but a reasonable Proposal; for to Charge Men upon Suspition, is but a slender part of a Christian usage, & therefore our Constitution anciently provided Grand Juries, first to examin the Evidence dence of Fact, and try whether there was sufficient ground to put a Man's Life in Hazard; if not, the Bill is return'd Ignoramus, the Party Accus'd is Dismiss'd, and the Charge judg'd Frivolous and Vexatious. Now shall the whole Administration of the Government be Condemn'd by a Foul Mouth, or Censur'd by Suggestion! Let some Evidence of Fact appear, or the whole Nation, who are the Grand Jury in this Case, will judge the Accusation Frivolous and Vexatious.

How many Railing Pamphlets, Abufive Libels, and Scurrillous Invectives,
have been Publish'd and Dispers'd among
us, to animate and Enrage the People
against the Ministers of State? And not
one that ever I met with, amounted to a
Charge of any Crime, an Evidence of
Fact, or to state the particular Statute,
against which they have Offended, all
Indictments of Crime, run in these
Words, CONTRART TO THE STATUTE IN THAT CASE MADE AND
PROVIDED, &c.

The Englishman has Learnedly set forth, how Ministers of State are accountable to the Laws; Who ever question'd it? Another has warmly taught

his Congregation that it is Lawful to take up Arms against a Tyrant, which he proves by the Example of David, who took up Arms against a King that was no Tyrant.

But neither the Englishman, or any one Author, that has yet written or spoken upon this Subject, has ever fet Down any one Article which the present Ministers of State have broken the Law in, or any one act of Tyranny in the Queen, or under her Sufferance: Mr. Wal-le in his Speech to the Inhabitants of Lyn, if such a Speech cou'd come from such a Person, Concludes thus, You may be affur'd we will struggle hard for our Religion and Liberties: But tells them not one step taken by the Queen or the Ministers of State. by which our Religion or Liberties have been attack'd; a Speech which favours of as much Justice, as that other part of it does of Modesty, where he tells them, That chusing HIM for their Representative, will make them famous to Posterity. These things still add to the abundant Testimony we have of the Second Head abovemention'd (viz.) That our Heats in the Complaints we make, are Carried on to an Unwarantable and Unchristian Extreme.

But let me Expostulate a little freely with you on the next thing, (viz.) What is the foundation of Power that you go upon? Have the Whigs Hands to make good what they have Mouths to utter? Do you believe that every Man who sits still and quietly Hears you Threaten and Menace the Queen and the Administration, would also sit still, and quietly

etly let you fall upon them and tear them to pieces? Nay, Do you believe that even those, or but one Tenth part of those who loyn with you in the Indecencies of the Tongue, and perhaps are forward enough to Rail and Clamour with you at your Governours, will find Zeal Answerable to their present Stock of fomething else; to lay their Lives at Pledge, and spend their Blood as freely as they now fpend their Breath, in so Wicked a Quarrel: Perhaps were it for Religion and Liberty they might; But can you think they will do it as it is now? What then are you doing! Threatning Government, without Power to attack them, is like a Man setting Fire to a Magazine of Powder, and not giving himself time to get out of the Blaft.

We have a fort of Men who go about whispering their Threats, and Casting out Infolence by Inuendo; when they speak of the Ministers of State thus, Well, they had best have a Care, they do not know where this may end! Sure! they will never Venture to to Dissolve the Parliament of Ireland! well, if they do, they may pull an old House upon their Heads! well Certainly they will never venture to fettle a Commerce with France! They do not know what a ftir it may make among the People! So formerly, They will never Dare to make a Peace without the Confederates! if they do, let them look to it, and the like! I need not repeat those things, there are too many of them in the Argument.

This is Gertain, a Ministry ought to Dare to do every Lawful thing, when the safety of the Expedient; as to the Lawfulness they are not judges, but are liable to be question'd at any time by a Supreme Judicatory; but as to the Expedience thereof they are entirely Judges of it, and therefore if acted in the ordinary Method as all wise Ministers act, (viz.) in the Privy Council, they are no farther answerable than as to the Legality of what they do; if it were not so, no Man of Honour or Substance would be a Minister of State; no Man would venture upon the Employment, but he whose Fortune was Desperate, and val-

lued no Risque.

But to return to the Power which you have to Execute the Threats you dayly let fall, it were to be wished you would take back the Warnings which you hint to the Ministry, and let them found in your own Ears thus: Sure! you will not go on thus! Sure! you cannot think the Ministers of State will always be Remiss! The Government it self must fall, if the Queen will bear her Officers to be Insulted in the Execution of their Office. This is stabbing Men La Mode de Guiscard at the very Council-Table. The fury of the Tongue is the worst fort of Violence, and a Man of a Railing Spirit is the worst Persecutor; Slander is the worst Assassination; and as Solomon fays, There are that speak like the piercing of a fword. Surely then you will not go on thus! Can you think the Government will never Exert it self! and that Resentment will never take place of Lenity and Clemency! And where will this end but in the Ruin of the D 2 Agressors! Agressors! And what can you expect, but the Desolation of your selves in the first act of Violence?

I am not talking to you as if you thought you were in condition to Arm, I will not suppose you so distracted neither; for tho' you seem to threaten high, yet you cannot but be too sensible of your absolute Nakedness, as to Power; you neither have the reason of Arming to plead, nor the People to Arm; The attempt would but Gratify your Enemies too much, who, tho' they have not so mean an Opinion of your Prudence as to hope for it, would yet be well pleased that you would give them that Opportunity to Ruin you.

But I am supposing your Greatest prospect of Power is, that you by popular Clamour would alarm the People with the Notion of some Imediate Danger, and by this, if possible, bring them over to be Tumultuous in your Favour, and so make them Uneasie to the

Government.

But let not these Hopes deceive you, England, tho' a Country full of Civil Differtions, Cannot give one Example where ever the People were Drawn in to raise a Clamour and Tumult at the Ministry, when no Breach of Laws

was to be laid to their Charge.

It has been faid that Favourites in England have always been the Subjects of the Peoples Hatred and Envy, and in some respect it has been true; but I must do the People that Justice to add, that it was always because of the Oppressions and Violence of those Favourites: Their unbounded Avarice, their Agrandizing

dizing their Families at the Nations Expence; Their Obtaining Exorbitant Grants, Misaplication of Treasure, Perverting Justice, Embarking the Nation in hazardous and fruitless Wars, and Expeditions, and the like; and the Voice of the People in all those Cases have been for Justice, fair Charges have been brought, Legal Impeachments, and solemn

Tryals desir'd.

But where is the Example, (Times of Civil War and Rebellion excepted) that the People were brought to fall upon Ministers of State, with Suggested Crimes only, and those Ministers of State, standing fairly out, and Challenging to have any thing Prov'd upon them? Nay, when you cannot but own, that here is no Family Agrandiz'd; no Man made Rich by the Spoil of the Subject; no Blood Unrighteously Shed; but a Virgin Reign, of which England can never shew the like in all her History, (viz.) That in Twelve Years, not one Man has fo much as been Tried for his Life. either for Treason, or for any Offence against her Majesty or her Government; no Blood has been Shed; not one Execution in all her Majesty's Reign, Common Malesactors only excepted.

The Ministry, Court your Impeachments, and Demand to be Charg'd: They say as the Good Old Judge of Israel, God's Minister of State, at the end of the Theocracy, of the Tribes, Whose Ox, or whose Ass have I taken? &c. and no Man Stands forth to Accuse

them.

But without Accusation, without Legal Charge, much less Legal Tryal, you fall upon them with Suggestions and Suppositions, and do you think ever to bring the People over to join in fuch a Charge? I would perswade you not to Deceive your selves with the Hope of a thing so Improbable; let your own Reason lead you to judge, when you offer the leaft Clamour among the People, to inflame them against the Ministry, and they are told the Ministry appeal to the Laws, that you cannot Prove your Charge, and that they defire a fair Tryal, from that Moment your Clamour will cease to be Popular; for Mobbs may outrun the Bounds of their Duty, and go beyond Law; but you never knew the Mobb of this Nation rife up against the Law, or refuse to be fatisfied, when the Person they Charg'd, was given up to Law.

As then you have no Legal Charge against the Ministers of State, let me then Argue a little with you, the Justice, the Prudence, and the Design of the present Methods you take.

To what purpose is all this desperate Feud carried on? Can you think ever to prevail either with the Queen to displace Her Ministers, or the People to desire it, while you can bring no Legal Complaints against them? You see they stand you fair; they have not procur'd Indemnities and Pardons (as others did before them, and who, by the way, you your selves then Charg'd with doing it, to shelter themselves) for their Security.

How much fairer a Pretence have these Men had, for a General Act of Indemnity, than ever the other had (viz.) npon the Peace, when Custom seem'd to call for it, Forreign Princes did it, and the Example made our People not only expect it, but, not a few, even of your side, have had Occasion for it, and Desir'd it; yet the Ministers of State have Declin'd it, to let you see they stand in no need of any thing of that kind; That they repose their Sasety in the Justice of the Law, and are ready to appeal to that justice in every Clamour

you can raise.

If then the Law Condemns them not, are you greater than the Law, that you take upon you to Censure Men before any Legal Prosecution is Commenc'd? I befeech you call to mind the Words of our Bleffed Saviour, when he was Infolently abused by the Clamouring Party of his Accusers. John 18. 23. If I have spoken Evil, bear witness of the Evil, That is, Indict me, and bring me to the Bar, and there be a Witness against me, let the proper Judicature determine of it and Judge me. But if Well, why smitest thou me? Let us turn the Bleffed Complaint in a lower Case, If the Ministers of State have done Evil, Bear witness of that Evil, Impeach them before those who are the proper Judges of it; But if Well, if they have not Broken the Laws, Invaded the Constitution, Acted Unrighteously, &c. Why Revile ye them?

And why is this new way put in Practice, (viz.) of Attacking Men, and Parties of Men with suppositious Guilt, calling Men Traytors

Traytors, and Betrayers of their Country, without assigning for what; and when the Cause is assign'd, that Cause not in the least prov'd; no not the probability of it: Is this according to the Golden Rule, Quod tibi fieri non vis alteri ne seceris, Do ye not Complain of it in others, with the same Breath, and in the same Moment that you practice it? Would you not call it Arbitrary and Tyrannical, to be proceeded against in such a manner, and to be Condemn'd without a Tryal? To come now to the pretended Ground of the present Uneasiness, as to the Design of it, I shall speak to that afterwards, God knows that is the worst part.

The Clamour now raised, is the Danger of the Pretender: This is the only remaining Pretence, Let us Enquire into the Ground

of That.

I am perswaded, if I might but appeal to your felves, that like some of the wifer lesuits. who when they have been acting the Extravagancies of their Fraternity, have been faid, not to believe themselves: It is not possible you can believe your felves; what sometimes you fay on that Head, is so disconcerted, and fo Irrational, as well as unjuk, that it is impossible but it must shock you: Not to mention the Absurdities of the present day, the Army drawing down to Bologn Ships fitting out at Brest, the Pretender gone from Bar-le-Duc, and the King of France preparing to put him upon us, immediately after the folemnest Treaty to the Contrary, and while the Queen was alive: These things were too Gross.

Groß. How could you expect the Nation should be Imposed upon by them? Really the Experiment has been to your Los, and the shame of the thing, now the Truth of it begins to vanish, falls too heavy upon you: Now tho' your Politicks were so weak as to offer at Imposing these things upon the People, you must allow me to have a better opinion of your Sences than to imagin you could in the least believe them your selves; and tho' this Compliment to your Understanding, is at the Expence of your Honesty, it cannot be help'd at this time, your own Conduct extorts it, and we cannot be so blinded as not to see it.

But to go back to the General Cafe, (viz.) The Danger of the Pretender; for this is the Common Place now in all your Party

Discontent.

BOLD

Hitherto this is founded only in Clamour, and it is well known to your felves, that this Clamour, if not Artfully Raifed, is Artfully Spread just like that of the Queen's death, to Alarm the People, Terrify them with Apprehensions, and

Awaken them to Tumult and Sedition.

I cannot but put you in mind, how, in the late Ministry, you Complain'd of the Injury and Injustice of a like Clamour, about the Danger of the Church; and thought your selves highly Injur'd, and her Majesty also; That under the Reign of a Queen, whose Zeal for the Church of England had been so eminently Distinguisht, and under a Ministry who were profess'd Members of the Church of England, such a Suggestion should be raised; the Church at the same time being in a SAFE

and FLOURISHING Condition. And will not the same Complaint lye against you, while you raise a Cry of the Danger of Popery, under the Reign of a Queen, whose Zeal for the Protestant Religion, has been so eminently distinguish'd, and under a Ministry, who are all, and all of them ever were, profes'd Protestants, and that, Blessed be God, the Protestant Religion in Britain, these Unhappy Divisions excepted, is in a Safe and Flourishing Condition.

In all the Complaints of this Nature, and they are loud enough, I do not see one thing of Moment that ever you Proposed to this Ministry to do, in order to make the Protestant Succession more secure than it is; or one thing you ever Charg'd the Ministry with, done in Favour of the Pretender; the Man is, and would be lost and forgotten among us, if you would let him alone; he is not Nam'd or Heard of but among you, and among a few Insolent Jacobites, whose Number or Interest is no otherwise formidable, than as you add to their Strength, by Weakning the Nation, with Divisions and Discontents.

It is a thing I would feriously recommend to you all, and your own Interest and Sasety is Concern'd in it, (viz.) That since you are not sure the Ministry are in the Interest of the Pretender, only that you suggest and affirm it without Proof, not Charging them with the least step taken that way; you would concern your selves, on the other hand, not to Abet and Encourage those real Jacobites, who are in his Interest, by supposing that Party to be stronger than it is, and by dividing

ding so Irreconcilably from a Protestant Administration, as weakens them in their sincere Opposition to the Interest of the Pretender.

What greater Injury can you do the Ministry, if they are sincerely against the Pretender, as you will certainly find at last, than to perswade the People to believe they are against the Protestant Succession? That so if they would act fairly, as is their Duty, when the Time comes; they may not have the Assistance or Considence of the People in favour, no not of the House of Hanover it self.

What Injury also is this to the House of Hanover, whose Coming in depends so much upon the Concurrence of those, in whose Hands the Administration of Assairs shall be at the time

of the Queen's Demise.

I know you will fay, you believe your felves able to bring in the Successor by Force, and without the help of the Ministry; and perhaps some are of another Opinion; but Sure! you would not perswade the Successor to desire to come in by Force, if he can come in Peaceably; I hope in this every Man will join, (viz.) That if the Protestant Successor can be brought in with the General Acclamations, Consent, and Agreement of the whole Nation, it is far better than by the Consusons and Struggles of Opposing Parties, and over the Bellies of a Body of the People, in which, besides the Blood that may be shed, there will, at least, be a Possibility of a Miscarriage.

And what an injury is this, also to the People of Great-Britain themselves, who, let the Feud go up to what height it will, are sure to

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bear the Scourge, and pay the Expence of

it.

Lastly, What an Encouragement is this to the Jacobites, and to the Pretender himself? that whenever the Queen dies, the Parties are so divided, that they have room to Hope, neither Side will be in any Condition to oppose them; and they may have a fair cast for their Cause? At least, they are sure the Parties are so Exasperated, that the both are against the Pretender, they will fight with one another, for the meer Name of bringing him in; by which means, both may be deprived of the Occasion, and he may never come in at all. What then are we all soing? And where will this End?

What is more common in the Mouths of the Jacobites at this time, and from which their Greatest Encouragement is deriv'd, than this; That they have brought, or shall bring our Distrust of one another, and the Animosities between the Whigs and the Ministry, to such a height, as that they will not at in Concert, or Aid one another whatever the Occasion be, no not against the Pretender himself.

Nothing, but this Animolity, can put us in Danger of the Pretender. I will do you the Justice to own, you are far from being Jacobites in Design, but in this Sence, you may indeed with too much Truth, come at last to be Charg'd with being for the Pretender your selves, and that in the worst Sence; at least, you may be Involuntary Agents, in his putting himself upon us, which in the end, would be the worst way of being in his Interest. If we are United together, not France Abroad,

if I should grant that France would Embark in it. not Rome, not facobites at Home, not all the Powers of Europe could Impose him upon us; but while a Secret Animosity Reigns among us at the Ministry, to that Degree, that you would scarce join with them against the Invafions of Popery and the Pretender; How should we but be apprehensive of him? In short, all the Insolence of the Jacobites, all the Encouragement of the Pretender. derive from this Bitterness in the Root, (viz.) the desperate Divisions of Parties, and the heigth of Madness to which we are come: So that it is to be question'd, Whether we should Join or no, even against the Common Enemy of us all.

If two Families in one House should Quarrel with, and Hate one another, so that when the House was on Fire, they would not assist one another to quench it, who would Insure

that House from Burning?

Let no Man say, that I carry this too sar, unless they will Answer, in the Name of the People I am speaking of, to this plain Question; and I appeal to your own Consciences, who call your selves Whigs, that it is a fair Question; Are there not secret Jealousses among you, least this Ministry should bring in the House of Hanover? Would you be willing the House of Hanover should owe their ready Access to the Throne, at the Queen's Decease, to this Party, (viz.) to the Present Ministry, or to such of them as should be Living at that time? I will not say, you had rather not have them at all, tho? I know some of you have Threatend'd

en'd that, and much more. But Suggest it calmly to your own Thoughts, I demand no Answer; Answer it to your own Consciences, as you shall Answer for it to one that knows what your Consciences say to it; Would you be willing the Present Ministry should be the Instruments, Honour'd with Introducing the Protestant Successor?

Nor is this Question so unseasonable or remote, that it should be thought needless to be ask'd, since, you may depend upon it, as far as things appear, it will be your Case; the Successor will certainly be brought in upon the Foot of the present Measures, and

it can be no otherwise.

How vain are the Hopes? And how full of all manner of Confusion, the Projects of those Men, who think the Protestant Successor must come in here, upon the Foot of a Court Revolution, enter into all the Party Resentments, and declare himself against one part, perhaps the Greatest too, of his Subjects, as soon

as he comes to the Crown?

What a Satyr do you make upon his Electoral Highness of Hanover, to Suggest, that he who is a Sovereign Prince already, and not Ignorant of the Nature of Government, should come hither, with Knit Brows, and a Drawn Sword; Arm'd with Party Rage, prepar'd to be the Instrument, I might say the TOOL, to Execute the Revenge of one prevailing part of his People upon the other? What Mean and Sordid Opinion must you have of the Person and Politicks of the Protestant Successor? Who, were he as you imagine him, would be at best but a PAR-

TY-KING and would neither Merit the Crown he was to Posses, nor long keep it when he had it.

The true Interest of the Protestant Successor, would certainly be to compose our Disorders, heal our Breaches, quiet our Minds, reconcile our Animosities, bring all the Nation to rejoice in his Accession to the Throne, and spread a Universal Smile upon the Countenances OF his People; with a Face of Beneficence TO his People, and National Affection IN them, to his Person, forming a general Unanimity in Prince and People to the Publick Sasety: These would be the necessary Attendants at the Accession of a Protestant Successor, the Methods for which would be General Indemnities, Oblivion of Facts, and a Burying the Remembrance of all Discontents.

But to Suggest the Protestant Successor shall side with Parties! call to Account those who never Offended! keep alive our Feuds, and gratify the Passions and Fury of Men, either of one Party or of another! This is to bring him in as a Tyrant, as a Man prepar'd for Vengeance, and made, before hand, a Terrour to the Nation.

What Injury you do the Successor himself, and his Interest in this, perhaps you are not aware of! Or what Injustice you do the Character and Honour of the Elector of Hanover; indeed he himself will be judge of it, and no doubt will be very sensible of it. I remember the first Complaint against his lateMajestyKing William, was raised by your selves, for you must allow me to tell you, however you may have since repented of that Crime, That the Whigs were the first that mal-treated him after the Revolution,

and

and it was upon this very Account; (viz.) That he did not Dip in the Blood of the Nation at his first coming over; That he did not make some Examples, as you then call'd it, for they are your own Words, and let the Ax and the Halter have made some Satisfaction to you for your Friends who had been Injur'd in the

Precedent Reign.

But that Wife and Generous Prince, who understood Rules of Government perfectly well, and faw to what Extremeties you would have Driven him, Rebuk'd your forwardness with the very Words of our Saviour to the Disciples that would ha' call'd for Fire from Heaven, &c. Te know not what spirit ye are of. There are some of your Friends yet alive who Heard him fay the very Words, and can Testify the Truth of it; and Imediately his Majesty Directed an Act of Indemnity, knowing that the way to Settle the Nation in Peace, and restore a Compleat Tranquility, was not to make Men Desperate, but to make them Easie: That Vengeance was referv'd to Omnipotence. and Men, tho' Injur'd, were not to be let loofe to the Exercise of their Passions.

This, some never forgave him, and this was the Reason why Mr. Redpath in his Observator reflected so Rudely upon the Memory of the King, and said, he might have done more for England than he did. Which Crime he has however endeavour'd to make amends for since,

by feveral Ways well known.

These things are mentioned now, only to let you see, That if you expect the Protestant Successor, to take YOUR METHODS at his coming roming hither, to declare for and against Parties, suppress This, and erect That; you must take him for a Prince of less Conduct, and less Understanding of his own Interest, and the Interest of the Country he is to Govern, than the Nation hopes to find him, and than you have any Reason to believe of him.

I will not threaten you with his Resentment of this Conduct of yours before he comes; as you are very sorward to do to other People. The Successor, as he stands clear of all Parties yet, so, no question, he will prepare to Govern all our Parties, not to be Govern'd by them; if not, he will find himself less a King than we hope he Designs to be.

And therefore your Threatning the Miniftry and other People with the Resentment of the Protestant Successor for their present Conduct, is really Threatning the Successor, and

that many ways.

1. It is supposing, that you shall be able to prevail upon him, so to Unking himself, as to enter into the particular Interest of a part of his Subjects against the rest; which I must tell you, supposes something very ill of his Character, and something, which Decency suffers me not to Name. Or,

2. That, if not, you shall have Power to oblige him to it; and both these Subject him to you, too much for you to presume upon.

Would you be pleased to Weigh these Things, you will find them too weak for you

to depend upon. You cannot expect, either to Perswade or Oblige the Successor, to carry on a Party Feud, he is too Wise a Prince; he will certainly endeavour to be King of all his People, and to have no Kings over him, or else he will have a very Uncomfortable Throne, and Britain a Confus'd Nation.

It were to be wish'd, you would prepare rather to be Dutiful Subjects to the Successor when he comes, than Dictators to him before he comes, least you give him such a taste of your Loyalty, as shall attack him to the Tories, who appear enclin'd to be better Subjects; and then your Party-hopes would all Die at once. And can you give your felves a worse Character to the Protestant Successor, than that of your Treatment of his Predecessor? Do you believe he will encline to you the rather because of your being Uneasy to the Crown, or because you are so apt to make the present Government uneasy with you? He cannot but see, that you are not in the least Oppress'd by this Government, only you are not pleased, and will your being so hard to please, so Furious and Implacable when you are displeased, recommend you to him? I believe the Elector of Hanover no more enclin'd to be a Tyrant, than any Prince you can Name; but you cannot think he would be a King of Clouts, a King and no King; or that when he is once Crown'd, he would be willing to be fent home again. every time his People are not pleased with him; he is not Ignorant how you acted with King William; how you thought your felves never

never Rewarded sufficiently for the Favour of bringing him in; and how you Insulted him in the Trusts he bestowed on you: I beseech you do not make the Elector of *Hanover* as afraid of you, or out of love with you; I doubt you have not weighed the Consequences of those two Things, or indeed the Danger of them.

Suppose the Present Ministry, at the Demife of the Queen (long may it be first) should, to the Reproach of all the Scandal you have thrown upon them, Punctually and Honourably preserve the Throne for the Protestant Successor, and with a Fidelity to their Country, suitable to what Good Men believe of them, affift heartily to place him on the Throne, as most certainly they will, Will not that one Action convince the Successor of the Wrong these Gentlemen have suffer'd from you? And will it not fill him with the utmost Abhorrence of the Method you have taken, to Villify and Defame those, who he shall then have found to be his fast Friends? Will it not possess him with Contemptible Thoughts of your Persons, and a most Abject Opinion of your Honesty? Will not all the ill Names you have cast on the Present Miniftry, be then justly cast back upon your selves? And will not the Protestant Successor himself. Reproach you with Abusing him, and treat you accordingly? Why should you put so great a Hazard upon it, and gratify your present Humour of Opposing and Misreprefenting the Minstry, at the Expence of all the Interest that you have, or can hope to have in the Protestant Successor.

I might Argue the Morality of your prefent Usage of the Ministry, as to the Charging them with being for the Pretender, and Charge you on the other hand, with the greatest Injustice. But I am not Writing Satyrs, I am only calmly perswading with you: I think the Question may very reasonably be offer'd you, which was offer'd to an Atheist, who was Arguing against the Being and Sovereignty of a God, when one Gravely faid to him, Sir, you own you are not sure there is not a God. How if it should happen that you are Mistaken, will you not own you have done him a great deal of Wrong? Thus, if at last it should appear, that the Present Ministry, are really not in the Interest of the Pretender, Suppose it only for Argument fake, will you not own that you have done them a great deal of Wrong? But I am pleading your own Interest, a Wise Man will never run the hazard of doing that, which he shall be afterwards asham'd of: If ever it should appear, that the PresentMinstry are really and fincerely not for the Pretender, How will you fee Cause to Recant, and Acknowledge your felves Mifraken?

In the mean time, as no Proof of the Fact lies against them, and you have only a Supposition without Ground, that Supposition cannot justify the Language and Treatment we now give them.

From the Clause of Charging the Ministry with being for the Pretender; let me Expostude a little with you about the Present Alarms raised about the Town of the Pretender tender being actually Coming, or Come, and that not so much as to the Consequences of those Allarms, as the Designs of raising them.

To enter into an Examination of the Fact it felf, how it was not only False, but Absurd and Ridiculous. To enquire how many Fictions were necessarily raised, to support the Credit of the main part of the Story, (viz.) That there was a Squadron of French Men of War equipping at Breft; That there was an Army of 14000 Men, drawn down to Bologne: That the Pretender was gone away from Barle duc, and that it was not known there whither he was gone; but that he was Actually Embarking, &c. I fay, to enter into these Facts would be needless; it is enough to say, That ye very well know, and I fear some knew from the Beginning, that not one of them had any Truth in them; That there was no Squadron of Ships fitting out; not a Regiment of Men come to Bologne, or within an Hundred Miles of it, more than the or, dinary Garrisons, who were in their former Station; That it was known where the Pretender was, and that he was gone to Lunneville to the Duke of Lorrain, and no where else, oc.

Time, and Enquiry into things, having Discovered all this; it remains to say, that these Rumours must then be a Political Step, taken to try an Experiment upon the People; and to see if, and how far they were capable of being Influenc'd, perhaps for a worse Design; but that which I would observe to you upon it is, How does this look? What Reputation

does

does such Practice bring to the Whigs? Where is the Morality, the Honour, and the Christianity of raising Political Falshoods? Is it to Amuse and Distract the People, and try whether they can be provok'd to Tumult and Disorder? On whose Head then must the Blood fall that may be spilt in such a Quarrel? And what a wretched step is that of Falshood, Forgery, Lying, and Deceit, to carry on a Good Cause with? This never was the Practice of the Whigs, whose Principles cannot descend to such low Steps, stand at a distance from you now, Astonish'd and Amaz'd, and waiting for that happy time, when you shall

be brought to your selves again.

But to speak a little to the Policy of this Conduct; your own Experience may convince you who felt the fmart of it first; the Banks, the Stocks, the Funds, in whose Hands are they? If your own Words are to be believ'd, the Whigs have Three Fourths of them all: And who then have you let into the Secret but your selves? Is not the BITER BITTEN? Have you not run down your own Estates? Sold your own Stocks to Lofs? And leffen'd your own Interest? Did not the Tories buy your Bank Stock, and South-Sea Stock, at Four to Six per Cent. lofs? And do they not now Sell von your own Estates at an Advance, and put your Money in their Pocket? Thus while you have acted a part to make an Experiment upon the Nation, you have done it at your own Expence, and your Enemies Laugh at you.

This very thing is an Emblem of your whole Case, and just thus you act as to the Protestant Succession; Should the Queen Die, you would cry out of the Pretender; fright the People out of their Wits; Ruin your Banks and Companies Stocks all at once; Sell out at Twenty and Thirty per Cent. lofs, and undo your own Friends; this will certainly be your own Case then; when after this, immediately the Ministers of State maintaining a due Concert with the Protestant Successor, shall calmly and quietly give him Possession of the Crown, upon the Foot of their own Measures. and then you will come to give Twenty per Cent. again for your Own Estates: The Sum of the whole Matter is this.

I would fain perswade you to consider these Things, and Study the Quiet and Security of your Country; join with all them that join with you in the Interest of the House of Hanover, and not put the Ministry to the necessity of saving you against your Wills, and convincing the Protestant Successor, that your Measures are False, your Charge upon the Ministry Groundless, and that by Consequence you are not the Party which he ought to depend upon.

I have not room here to enter upon the last Head propos'd, (viz.) To Remind you what an Imprudent and Unjustifiable Hazard, these things put your Country and Posterity in; take them in a few Heads. (1.) The real Hazard to us of the Pretender from it all: Nothing but these Heats among us, giving him and his Party any Hopes. (2.) The Ha-

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zard to your selves, in provoking the Government you thus oppose, to make use of, and exert the Legal Power they are Vested with, in Mortifying and Suppressing you. (3.) The Hazard Posterity shall run, by Bringing all your Interest, Friends, and Party, into a Broil, even with the Successor himself; of all which, I shall take an Occasion to Exposulate with you farther, as Opportunity offers.

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